The Additive Marker in Conversational Persian: A Case of Inflectional Spread

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Identity of form: lexemes

pronominal

1. ina   gerun-an
   these   expensive+3PL
   'These are expensive.'

associative plural

2. sima   ina   færda   mi-y-an
   Sima   these   tomorrow   CONT+come+3PL
   'Sima and family will come tomorrow.'

general extender

3. ketab-o   majjale-o   ina   xund-im
   book+CONJ   magazine+CONJ these   read.PAST+1PL
   'We read books and magazines and stuff.'

complementizer

4. goft   ke   mi-r-e
   said.PST.3SG   COMP   CONT+go+3SG
   'She/he said that she/he will go.'

modal particle

5. bayæd   ke   be-r-e
   must   PRT   SUBJ+go+3SG
   'She/he must go.'

6. sima   ke   mi-r-e
   Sima   PRT   CONT+go+3SG
   'Sima will go.'

see Ghomeshi (to appear)   see Ghomeshi (2013)

Identity of form: morphemes

7. ketab-e   gerun
   book+EZ   expensive
   'expensive book'

Ezafe construction

8. ketab-e   gerun-e   sima
   book+EZ   expensive+EZ   Sima
   'Sima's expensive book'

colloquial singular definiteness marker

9. ketab-e
   book+DEF.SG
   'the book'

pronominal clitic

10. æz   in   xoš-æm   amæd
    from this   good+1SG.CLC   come.PST.3SG.SBJ
    'I liked this.'

possessive affix   *subject agreement*

11. ketab-æm-o   xund-æm
    book+1SG.POSS+OM   read.PAST+1SG.SBJ
    'I read my book.'

additive marker

12. ketab-æm   xund-æm
    book+ADD   read.PAST+1SG.SBJ
    ''I read books/the book as well.'

see Ghomeshi (2003, 2008)

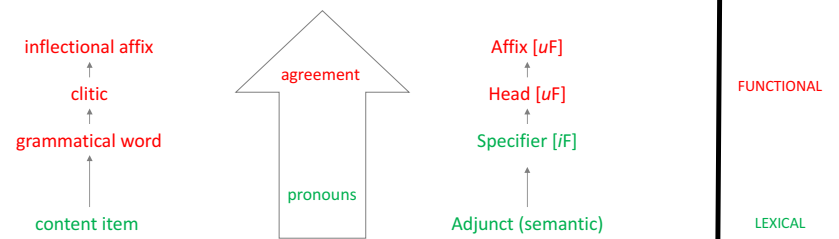## Grammaticalization

One well-established grammaticalization cline is from independent content word to bound morpheme.

(Hopper & Traugott 1993:7)

Under the Minimalist version a principle of **Feature Economy** strips away semantic and interpretable features, leaving only uninterpretable features.
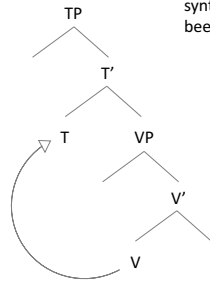
(van Gelderen 2011:14.17)

inflectional affix
↑
clitic
↑
grammatical word
↑
content item

agreement
pronouns

Affix [uF]
↑
Head [uF]
↑
Specifier [iF]
↑
Adjunct (semantic)

PRAGMATIC

FUNCTIONAL

LEXICAL

Grammaticalization

Last Merge Principle
Merge as late as possible.

This is consistent with Chomsky's (1995, 2001) 'merge-over-move' principle according to which it is preferable to merge an element in a higher position than to merge it lower in a syntactic structure and then move it higher. This principle has been invoked to explain the change from main verb to auxiliary.

PRAGMATIC

TP
T'
T   VP
V'
V

I have travelled a lot.   *I am travelling a lot.*
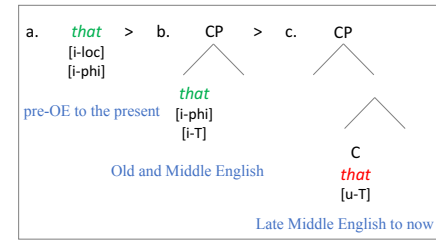
FUNCTIONAL

I have a car.   *I am happy to meet you.*

LEXICAL

Grammaticalization

Head Preference Principle (HPP)
Be a head, rather than a phrase.

This principle explains, for example, the tendency for relative or demonstrative pronouns (merged as specifiers within CP) to be reanalyzed as complementizers (merged as C-heads).

PRAGMATIC

CP
relative pronoun   C'
                  complementizer   C

a. *that*   > b.   CP   > c.   CP
    [i-loc]
    [i-phi]
                    that   C
pre-OE to the present   [i-phi]   *that*
                         [i-T]   [u-T]

Old and Middle English

Late Middle English to now
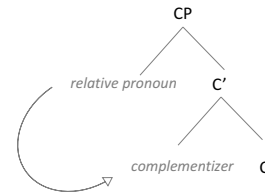
*I know that an ideal password is one **where** it looks like my cat took a 12-hour nap on the keyboard.* (Brook 2011:5)

FUNCTIONAL

LEXICAL

van Gelderen 2011:261, Fig. 7.4


Grammaticalization: *ke* in Persian

13. introducing a purpose clause
un   mænzel-o   foruxt-æn   [(**ke**)   be-r-æn   amrika]
that   house +OM   sold+3PL   that   SUBJ+go+3PL   America
'They sold that house [in order/so that] to go to America.'

PRAGMATIC

14. introducing a clause with a temporal reading [term and example from Perry 2007:996]
hænuz   vared=na-shode   bud-im   [**ke**   ma-ra   did]
yet   enter=NEG+become.PTCPL   was+1PL   that   us+OM   saw+3SG
'We had not yet entered when he saw us.'

CP
XP   C'
    C   TP
    ke

FUNCTIONAL
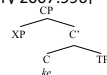
15. introducing a clause with a causal reading [term and example from Perry 2007:996]
bo-ro   birun   [**ke**   sobh   shod]
IMP+go   outside   that   morning   became+3SG
'Go out, for it is morning.'

*bæ'd æz in **ke*** 'after' (lit. after that which); *chun **ke*** 'because'; *bæra-ye in **ke***, 'for, because' (lit. for that which); *ta **ke*** 'so that'; *ægær **ke*** 'although', *bæl**ke*** 'but'
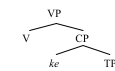
LEXICAL

Grammaticalization: *ke* in Persian

16. introducing direct discourse (Perry 2007)
goft   [CP (**ke**)   mæn ne-mi-y-am]
said.3SG   **that**   I   NEG+CONT+come+1SG
'He said "I'm not coming."'

PRAGMATIC

17. introducing direct discourse (Perry 2007)
goft   [CP (**ke**)   ne-mi-y-ad]
said.3SG   **that**   NEG+CONT+come+3SG
'He said he's not coming.'

VP
V   CP
    ke   TP

FUNCTIONAL

18. introducing an indicative complement clause
mi-dun-æm   [CP (**ke**)   aftab   daq-e]
CONT+know+1SG   **that**   sun   hot+3SG
'I know (that) the sun is hot.'

Estaji (2011) traces the sources of some of these uses of *ke* to relative pronouns and some to other connectives. See also Stilo (2004) for pronominal sources of *ke*.

LEXICAL

The modal particle *ke*

19. šam   xord-i   **ke**?
    dinner eat.PST+2SG PRT
    'You have eaten, haven't you?'

20. jai   **ke** ne-mi-r-in   emšæb ?
    place PRT   NEG+CONT+go+2PL tonight
    'You're not going anywhere tonight, are you?'
    (presumed answer is 'no')

21. axe   in   kar-a   **ke** asun nist
    because this work+PL PRT   easy NEG.be+3SG
    'Because these things aren't easy to do.' (in response to
    a question about why something didn't get done)

22. qahve **ke** mi-xor-e
    coffee PRT   CONT+consume+3SG
    'S/he drinks coffee.' (…but not other things)

Some of the functions of the
modal particle *ke*

- requesting confirmation
- underlining the obvious (in
  exclamations)
- adversative (marks
  assertion in the context of
  counter-expectations)
- identifying *most* likely
  alternative from a list
  (scalar reading)

See Bateni (2010), Lazard (1957,
1992), Oroji & Rezaei (2013)

PRAGMATIC

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Modal particles across languages

Properties (see Traugott 2007)

- lack connective properties at the discourse level (do not sequence units of talk)
- occur in dialogic contexts and are often 'adversative'
- may not appear in one fixed position (e.g. in German they occur in the "Middle-field" but can
  also appear in other clause-internal positions)
- are phonologically unstressed and semantically have inferential, epistemic meanings
- are often untranslatable from one language to another
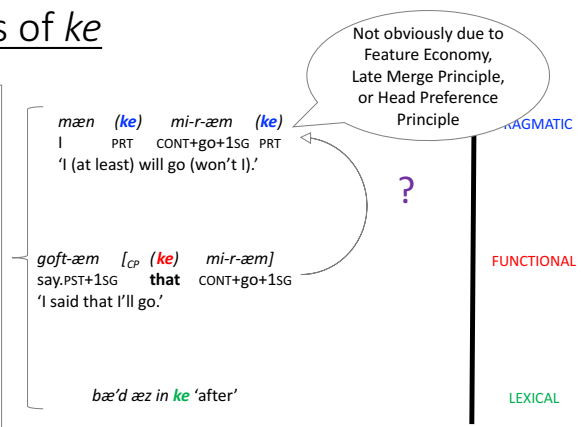- are often deletable in translation

German (Diewald 2013:21.3)
23. *ja*, *und dann kommt ja der grosße Balken, ja*?
    JA, and then comes JA the large   beam, JA?
    '*Okay*, and then – *we know that* – comes the large beam, *right*
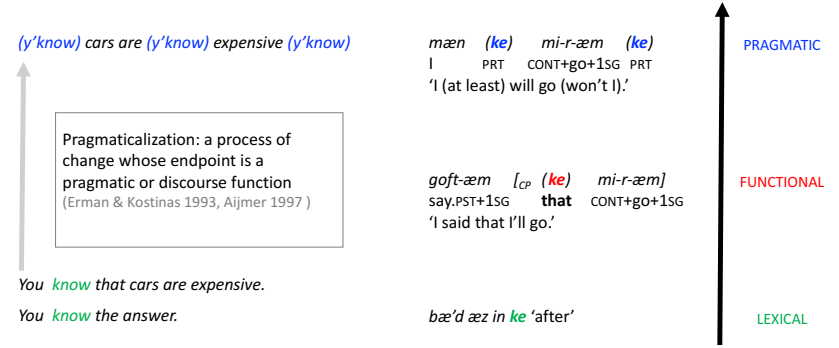
- First *ya* is discourse marker and
  functions as a turn-taking signal
  (DM)
- Second is a modal particle (MP)
- Third is a turn-final signal (DM)
  (Diewald 2013:20-21)

The functions of *ke*

- **Layering**: where original
  and emergent functions
  coexist. (Hopper 1991: 23,
  Hopper & Traugott 2003:124-6)

- **(Grammatical) Polysemy**

- **Polyfunctionality**

- **Heterosemy:** where a word
  belongs to two different
  categories, e.g. non-finite *to*
  and preposition *to*
  (Lichtenberk 1991, Diewald
  2013)

Not obviously due to
Feature Economy,
Late Merge Principle,
or Head Preference
Principle

mæn   **(ke)**   *mi-r-æm*   **(ke)**
I   PRT   CONT+go+1SG PRT
'I (at least) will go (won't I).'

?

goft-æm [cP **(ke)**   *mi-r-æm]*
say.PST+1SG   **that**   CONT+go+1SG
'I said that I'll go.'

bæ'd æz in **ke** 'after'

PRAGMATIC

FUNCTIONAL

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Pragmaticalization

(y'know) cars are (y'know) expensive (y'know)

Pragmaticalization: a process of
change whose endpoint is a
pragmatic or discourse function
(Erman & Kostinas 1993, Aijmer 1997)

You know that cars are expensive.

You know the answer.

mæn   **(ke)**   *mi-r-æm*   **(ke)**
I   PRT   CONT+go+1SG PRT
'I (at least) will go (won't I).'

goft-æm [cP **(ke)**   *mi-r-æm]*
say.PST+1SG   **that**   CONT+go+1SG
'I said that I'll go.'

bæ'd æz in **ke** 'after'

PRAGMATIC

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Pragmaticalization & the Detachment Principle

Detachment Principle
[head complement] > [_adjunct_ head ~~complement~~]
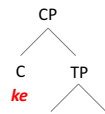Ghomeshi (2013)

$[_{CP} \, ke \, [_{TP} \ldots] \,] > [_{PRT} \, ke \, [_{TP} \ldots]]$

cf. **debonding**, where a bound morpheme becomes free but usually in the context of degrammaticalization (Norde 2011)

Oroji & Rezaei (2013) call *ke* a focus particle, noting also that any constituent can be focalized and that information structure does not seem to play a role. They note that *ke* appears most often on subjects and, in terms of parts of speech, most often on pronouns.

See, for example, Booij 2010 on constructional schemas

Schema:
[XP] **ke** ↔ where XP receives adversative focus, exclamative force, scalar reading of being most likely, etc.

CP
C TP
ke

PRAGMATIC

FUNCTIONAL

LEXICAL

Coordination: *hæm* in Persian (Stilo 2004)

Simple coordinate conjunction

24.   sib=o   berenj   xærid-æm   /   sib   xærid-æm=o   berenj
    apple=CONJ   rice   buy.PST-1SG   apple   buy.PST-1SG=CONJ   rice
    'I bought apples and rice.'

Bisyndetic Coordination

25.   hæm sib(=o)   hæm berenj   xærid-æm
    ALSO   apple(=CONJ)   ALSO   rice   buy.PST-1SG
    'I bought (both) apples and rice.'

26.   hæm sib   xærid-æm(=o)   hæm berenj =o   hæm   mahi
    ALSO   apple   buy.PST-1SG (=CONJ)   ALSO   rice   =CONJ   ALSO   fish
    'I bought (both) apples and rice.'

Need not be only two conjuncts

> *hæm* <Old Persian *ham-* 'together, with,' *hama-* 'one and the same' < *Proto-Iranian *ham ~ *hama-* (Kent 1953:213) < *Proto-Indo-European sem- ~ *somo-*
>
> (cf. Sanskrit *sam-*, *samá-*, Gothic *sama*, English *same*, Old Church Slavonic *sam-*, Greek *homós*, etc.)
>
> [Stilo 2004:273]

hæm vætæn HÆM-homeland 'compatriot,' *hæm kelas(-i)* HÆM-class(-'ite') 'classmate,' *hæm saye* HÆM-shade 'neighbour,' *hæm dige* HÆM-other 'each other,' *ba hæm* with-HÆM 'together', *hæmin* HÆM-this 'this very one' (emphatic deictic), *hæmiše* 'always'

Coordination: *hæm* in Persian

27.   hæm sib   xærid-æm(=o)   hæm berenj
    ALSO   apple   buy.PST-1SG (=CONJ)   ALSO   rice
    'I bought (both) apples and rice.'

28.   sib   xærid-æm,   berenj-æm   * (xærid-æm)
    apple   buy.PST-1SG   rice+ADD   buy.PST-1SG
    'I bought apples and rice too.'

29.   væ   æz   un   bædtær,   xæsis=e!
    and   from   that   worse   stingy-is
    'And what's worse, he's stingy!'

30.   æz   ún-æm   bædtær,   xæsis=e!
    from   that-also   worse   stingy-is
    'And what's worse, he's stingy!'

> While appearing to be a reduced form of *hæm*, this marker differs in numerous ways.

> Stilo (2004) points out that *væ*, commonly associated with the formal register, is the only choice sentence-initially; however, the alternative is to use the enclitic *-æm*.
>
> (Stilo 2004:283.19)

The particle -*æm*

Stilo (2004) identifies at least four functions for -*æm*:

31. Inclusive focus particle
mæn jævad=æm did-æm
I   Javad=also   saw.PST+1SG
'I saw Javad too.'

32. Coordinating conjunction meaning 'and'
diruz   xeyli   særd   bud,
yesterday   very   cold   be.PST.3SG

barun=æm miy-amæd
rain=also   CONT-come.PST.3SG
'Yesterday was very cold, and it was raining also.'

33. Coordinating conjunction meaning 'even'
dær   amrika   xærčæng=æm   mi-xor-ænd
in   America   crab=also   CONT-eat-3PL
'In America, they even eat crabs.'

34. As an adversative conjunction meaning 'but, and'
fæqæt   mi-xast   ke pedær-eš   bær-gærd-e
only   CONT+want.PST.3SG   that father+3SG.POSS   PRT-turn+3SG

pedær-e   hæm   fekr-e   bær-gæšt-æn   næ-dašt
father   also   thought+EZ   PRT+turn.PST+INF   NEG+have.PST.3SG
'He only wanted his father to return. But his father had no thought of returning.'

The particle -*æm:* test for additive marker

Its core function is best characterized as additive:

Ishkashimi   **Persian**

35. . . . The mother goes away and leaves the child   36. . . . The mother goes away and leaves the child an apple
    an apple and an apricot.   and an apricot.
    When she returns, she asks if the child ate the   When she returns, she asks if the child ate the apple.
    apple.

                                              Q: *sib-o   xord-i?*
Q: Did you eat the apple?   apple+OM   eat.PST+2SG

A: *Az-əm   čwəṇḍ-mas xŭl*   A: *zærdalu-r=æm   xord-æm*
    1SG-1SG apricot+PRT ate   apricot+OM+ADD eat.PST+1SG
    'I ate an apricot as well.' (meaning: I ate both)   'I ate the apricot as well.' (meaning: I ate both)
    Karvovksaya (2013:80.6)

The additive*:* typology of …

Forker (2016) notes that additives are frequently called 'focus particles' or 'focus-sensitive particles'.
They are commonly seen as presupposition triggers: there is an alternate proposition in which the associate is replaced by a contextually relevant alternative.

zærdalu-r=æm   xord-æm   ⟵   Presupposition: *I ate the apple.*
apricot+OM+ADD eat.PST+1SG
'I ate the apricot as well.'
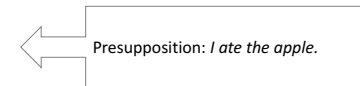
The additive*:* typology of …

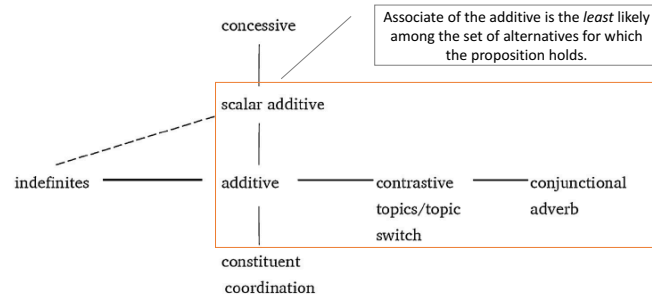Forker (2016) identifies seven core semantics domains of additives, of which Persian has at least four:

Fig. 1. A categorical semantic map for additives.

Associate of the additive is the *least* likely among the set of alternatives for which the proposition holds.

Forker (2016:19)

The polysemy of -*æm*

additive

37. Inclusive focus particle
mæn   jævad=æm   did-æm
I   Javad=also saw.PST+1SG
'I saw Javad too.'

conjunctional adverb

38. Coordinating conjunction meaning 'and'
diruz   xeyli særd bud,
yesterday very cold be.PST.3SG

barun=æm miy-amæd
rain=also   CONT-come.PST.3SG
'Yesterday was very cold, and it was raining also.'

scalar additive

39. Coordinating conjunction meaning 'even'
dær amrika xærčæng=æm   mi-xor-ænd
in   America crab=also   CONT-eat-3PL
'In America, they even eat crabs.'

contrastive topics/topic switch

40. As an adversative conjunction meaning 'but, and'
fæqæt mi-xast   ke pedær-eš   bær-gærd-e
only   CONT+want.PST.3SG that father+3SG.POSS PRT+turn+3SG

pedær-e   hæm fekr-e   bær-gæšt-æn   næ-dašt
 father   also thought+EZ PRT+turn.PST+INF NEG+have.PST.3SG
'He only wanted his father to return. But his father had no thought of returning.'

The distribution of *-æm*

- can occur more than once in a clause

41. *ha bæ'd-eš-æm be xale minu-æm ye zæng-i=zæd-æm/ do daqiqe/*
PRT after+3SG.CLC+ADD to aunt Minoo+ADD one phone+INDEF=hit.PST+1SG two minutes
'Oh and then I called Aunt Minoo, two minutes.'

[Canavan & Zipperlen 1996, CALLFRIEND FARSI FA_4046]

- can co-occur with *ke*

42. *chiz-i næ-goft-e bud ^sæid^ to-æm ke be mæn hichi næ-goft-i/*
think+INDEF NEG+say.PST+3SG be.PST.3SG Saeed you+ADD PRT to me nothing NEG+say.PST+3SG
'Saeed hadn't said anything and you didn't say anything to me either.'

[Canavan & Zipperlen 1996, CALLFRIEND FARSI FA_4099]

The distribution of *-æm*

- can occur with non-nominal associates

43. … in discussion about status in the US…   *inside complex predicate*
goft mæn-æm hæmintori bud-æm/ ina-m be-hem goft-e bud-æn ke/
say.PST.3SG I+ADD the.same be.PST+1SGthey+ADD to+1SG say.PST+PART be.PST+3PL that

'apply'=mi-kon-æn bæra-ye girin-kart-æm šuru'-æm=kærd-æn ke bo-kon-æn
apply=CONT+do+3PL for+EZ green+card+1SG.POSS start+ADD=do.PST+3PL that SUBJ+do+3PL

'He said I was like that too, and they'd told me that, they'd apply for a Green Card they even started to do it'

on adverbial element   [Canavan & Zipperlen 1996, CALLFRIEND FARSI FA_4621]

44. … in discussion about a mutual friend…
'Ph.D.' dar-e xeyli-æm sæth-eš bala-e tu in departeman-e ma
PhD has+3SG very+ADD status+3SG.POSS high+be.3SG in this department+EZ 1pl
'He, has a Ph.D. and has high status in our department.'

[Canavan & Zipperlen 1996, CALLFRIEND FARSI FA_4621]

Schema for *-æm*

Schema:
[XP] **ke** ⟷ where XP receives adversative focus, exclamative force, scalar reading of being most likely, etc.

Schema:
[… [XP] **æm** … V] ⟷ where XP receives additive intepretation, scalar reading of being least likely, contrastive topic, or whole clause is conjoined with another via 'and then'

PRAGMATIC

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Note that both *ke* and *-æm* tend to be follow the first constituent in the clause but this is not absolute.

Forker (2016:4) notes that there are few languages that allow an additive to occur on a finite verb, and even in these languages, the associate is not the verb itself but one of its arguments.

Note: *xodæm-æm* is okay, therefore constraint is not about sequence of two identical affixes but rather a categorical one.

Homophony & Inflectional Spread

45. *bæra-ye maman-æm sib xærid-æm, berenj-æm xærid-æm*
for+EZ mother+1SG.POSS apple buy.PST-1SG rice+ADD buy.PST-1SG
'I bought apples and rice too for my mother.'

CoordP		subject agreement		pronominal enclitics	
		SG	PL		SG	PL
hæm DP Coord'	1	-æm	-im	1	-æm	-emun
	2	-i	-id	2	-et	-etun
Coord hæm DP	3	-	-æn	3	-eš	-ešun

?

PRAGMATIC

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Inflectional spread in Korean: EPM

46. ai-tul-i   kongwon-eyse(-tul) chinkwu-lang(-tul) culkepkey(-tul)
    child+PL+NOM park+LOC(+PL)   friend+COM(+PL)   cheerfully(+PL)

    nolay(-tul)-ul   pwulu-ko(-tul)   siph-e(-tul)   ha-ess-ta
    song(+PL)+ACC   sing(+COM(+PL)   like+CONJ(+PL)   do+PST+IND
    'The children wanted to sing a song cheerfully with their friends in the park.'

> Somewhat contrived but theoretically possible. (Song 1997)

47. ai-tul-i   mwul(-tul)-ul   masi-ess-ta
    child+PL+NOM water(+PL)+ACC   drink+PST+IND
    'The children drank water.'

> "Extrinsic Plural Marking" involves copying the plural marking from the subject to mark 'distributivity', not only on object nominals but indirect objects, adverbs, etc. (Song 1997, data from Song)

48. ai-tul-i   cal(-tul)   nol-ass-ta
    child+PL+NOM well(+PL)   play+PST+IND
    'The children played well.'

Song (1997) suggests that EPM of the kind in X above may mark focus. Jin Ho Yeum (p.c.) suggests that in addition to focus, EPM may mark utterances by a higher status speaker towards a lower status one.

PRAGMATIC

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Inflectional spread in Guaraní: *la*

49. ha o- japo jey   arã   chupe hína la estudio-kuéra
    and A3-do   again should to-him PROG LA study-PL
    (determiner → la)

    la o-hecha hağua, la péa   =pa ha'e la provléma o
    LA A3-see   PURP   LA that.one =Q   COP   LA problem   or
    (complementizer → la) (determiner → la) (determiner → la)

    mba'é =pa la o -je -japo   arã
    what =Q   LA A3 -PASS -do   should
    (focus particle → la)

    'He's going to have to do more tests on him in order to see if that's the problem or what can be done.'

Russell (2017)

- *la* prefers to appear after other second position particles and some degree of focus seems necessary.
- *la* can occur in the middle of main clauses.
- *la* can occur before adjunct clauses, e.g. purpose or time.
- *la* can cooccur with native demonstratives, and can occur with **indefinite** nominals.
- *la* 'the' borrowed from Spanish into Paraguayan Guaraní.

PRAGMATIC

FUNCTIONAL

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Inflectional spread in English: Clipping

There are eight inflectional suffixes in English:

past tense: *walked*   plural: *tables*
progressive: *walking*   possessive: *Pat's*
past participle: *eaten*   3SG.PRES: *walks*
comparative: *taller*
superlative: *tallest*

> Three of them are [s]

adorable → adorbs   *Madeleine → Maddy → Madds*
totally → totes   *Kiana → Kiki → Keeks*
probably → probs   *Brian Trottier → Trotts*
people → peeps   *Chris Gratton → Grats*
whatever → whatevs

— New Words —   — Nicknames

Schema: [[clipped word]+s]

PRAGMATIC

FUNCTIONAL

LEXICAL

Inflectional spread

We have seen three types of "inflectional spread":
- pragmaticalization via detachment
- homophony by analogy
- derivation

Hypothesis: the *form* of a frequently occurring grammatical morpheme (e.g. an inflectional affix) is available for the expression of functions in other domains, namely the domain of word formation or the domain of pragmatics.

From which it follows that:
- There is a domain of pragmatics, perhaps best represented with constructional schema, where marker are somewhat mobile ("no fixed address"), polysemous, and where their meaning often involves "focus", information structure, and subjectivity.
- That in our study of the relationship between sound and meaning, we must find a way to model the fact that the same *form* can have vastly different functions depending on the domain.

PRAGMATIC

FUNCTIONAL

LEXICAL

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